Good Advice

TO ALL THE FREE-HOLDERS AND Corporations of *ENGLAND*, CONCERNING THE Choice of their *REPRESENTATIVES*, To Serve in the Ensuing *PARLIAMENT*.

SINCE it hath pleased Almighty God in his *All-wise Providence* to make *this* our *present King* the Glorious Instrument of delivering this Nation from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and since His Majesty hath been pleased by his Gracious Proclamation to declare, That *for divers Important and Weighty Considerations, by and with the Advice of his Privy-Council, he hath Dissolved the present Parliament*; and yet that his *Good Subjects may perceive the Confidence He hath in their good Affections, and how desirous He is to meet his People, and have their Advice in Parliament; He hath thereby made known to his said Subjects, that he hath given Directions to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, for the Issuing out of Writs in due Form of Law for the Calling of a New Parliament, to begin and be holden on the 20th. day of* March *next*: It will highly concern us all, as to our present Interest, and therein the future happiness of our Posterity, to act at this time with all the Wisdom, Courage, and Integrity we can.

Our Work is Great very Great, before us; Our Care and Prudence therefore should be proportionable: We ought by no means to trifle in such an Important Affair as this. If we miscarry now, it will be our own Fault, and we shall have none to blame but our Selves.

The King hath given us an Opportunity now to shew our Selves his Friends, by choosing such Men as will be Friends to Him, and the true Interest of our Countrey; He hath put it into our Own hands to make our Selves as happy as we can wish to be, if we will but be wise in the Choice of our Representatives, and take care to send up such Members to serve in this Parliament, as we can assure our Selves are,

1st. *Good English Men.*

2d. *Well-affected* to the *present Government.*

3d. And of *Ability* and *Courage* faithfully to discharge that *Great Trust* which is to be reposed in them.

I shall not trouble you with things of a nice Consideration, but such as are easie and obvious to every Man's notice; my design is Brevity, but yet I will not be obscure.

Consider what a powerful Influence a Parliament hath upon the *Settlement* or *Ruine* of the Nation, and that both in our Religious, and in our Civil concerns.

Consider how that in all Ages there have been *Ill Men*; and you have very good Reason to be sure that We are not without them now, who being conscious to themselves of the *Ill things* they have formely done, will endeavour by all the Ways and Artifices they can, to thrust themselves into the *House*, thereby, if possible, to cover themselves from the *Publick Justice*, which the *Nation* requires, and which is One *proper Business* and *Duty* of the *Parliament* to inflict upon them, *for all their open Violations of Law, and for their Plots and Conspiracies against the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties, the Honours and Estates of the Subject.*

Prince of Orange's Declaration.

I do not speak this out of a Rancorous or Revengeful Spirit, for my Nature is not so inclined; and, I thank God likewise, that I have received better Principles from my Education; but (as *Every Man is concerned, Every Man may be allowed to speak his own Judgment, and to differ from whom he pleases, provided he do it with Modesty and due Respect*;) I speak it by way of Caution, to prevent Any of those from becoming now our *Law-makers*, who have been so notoriously known in the Two last Reigns for *Law-breakers*; I would not by any means (if I could help it) have *Legitides* to be turned into *Legislators*.

But that I may more immediately apply my self to the present Undertaking, give me leave, (with all imaginable Deference to better Judgments,) to present You with my Opinion of what *sort* of Men You ought to choose for your *Representatives*, if you design in earnest to promote *the Peace, Honour and Safety of the Nation, so that there may be no more danger of the Nation's falling at any time hereafter under Arbitrary Government.*

Prince's Declarat.

If a considerable Person in our Church could think fit to bestow the following *Compliment* upon the late *Unfortunate* and *Abdicated* King, I hope I may be permitted to bestow it with more *truth* on our present Soveraign, who hath shewed himself so *Brave and so Great* in delivering an *Ungrateful Nation*, that the Character he hath thereby acquired in the World, will perpetuate his Memory to all Generations.

Dr. Sterl. Serm. before H. of Commons, 29. May 85. P. 28.

Now *we live* (says he) *under the Government of a King, who discovers a Great and Princely Mind in all his Actions, and this secures us of as much happiness as we can expect under any Government. But it is not meerly the wise Conduct of a Prince, but the Governable Temper of Subjects too, which is necessary to make a Nation Happy: No Government, neither of God nor Men, can make those happy who will not be governed.*

But let such consider, and duly reflect upon the Powerful Argument St. *Paul* urges to perswade us to Subjection and Obedience, *viz.* Rom. 13. *There is no Power but of God: The Powers that be, are Ordained of God. And certainly*, says the same Person in another Treatise, *he is* no Christian *who disputes Obedience to the Divine Ordinance and Constitution.*

11 Hen. 7. c. 1.

Again, let such consider, that in *Hen.* 7. time all Subjects were *bound* by Act of Parliament to yield to the *King for the time being*, Faithful Service and true Allegiance *against every Power and Might reared against him*; and that through the whole Body of the Act that King is called, *The Soveraign Lord of the Land, their Soveraign Lord*; and that this Statute has continued unrepealed about 200 years, and has been so long approved by the whole Nation, and judged well

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conſiſtent with the *Duty of Allegiance* owing to their Lawful Soveraign *for the time being*; and therefore I hope we ſhall all gladly ſubmit to the Rule of *His Scepter*, who hath appeared as the *Champion* of Almighty God for the Reſcue of theſe Kingdoms from the Deplorable Condition to which the Affairs both of Church and State were reduced, and who hath met with ſuch a ſucceſsful Providence therein, and is now in the quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of the Throne.

Let ſuch, laſtly, conſider with themſelves the danger of their Obſtinacy and Refractorineſs in diſowning the Lawfulneſs of this preſent Government, or the Rightful Title of their Sacred Majeſties, (I hope this will concern but a few) but let them conſider, that ſuch a denying of the King *de facto*'s Title to the Crown, and ſaying that ſuch a one was not *Rightful King*, with Motives, though not impliedly of Action againſt it, hath been adjudged *Treaſon*; Ay, and a compaſſing of the King's Death too; and how it was ſo, we find declared in the Reaſons of the Judgment, that ſuch words were ſpoken with an intent to withdraw the Affections of the People from the King, and to excite them againſt him, that in the end they might riſe up againſt him *in mortem & Deſtructionem* of the King. Several Caſes hereof might be produced to ſhew that in all of them, the Treaſon was for *words* only, words by *private perſons*, and in a more *private manner*, but *once* ſpoken, and no more: But I forbear: I would rather heal, than exaſperate. Rushworth's Collection.

Only this Note I would leave to the Conſideration of ſuch as have thought it *unlawful* to take the *New Oaths*; that through the *whole Series* of our *Kings* it hath often happened, that *Ground ſufficient* hath been given to *queſtion* the *Right* of their *Succeſſion*; and in the Caſes of *Edward* the 2*d*, and *Richard* the 2*d*, the *lawfulneſs* of their *Depoſition*; and yet *no ſcruple* ever was made of taking an *Oath of Allegiance* to the *King*, who had poſſeſſion of the Government: Nor do I remember, that ever the *Biſhop* of *Carliſle* refuſed the *Oath of Allegiance*.

But I come now to tell you who I think are the Men that would be fit for you to *fix your thoughts upon* for Members to ſerve you in this approaching Parliament, and whom you may have very great Reaſon to *reject*; and therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to weigh theſe following Particulars:

1. If you have any regard to God's Providence in giving you ſo great and miraculous Deliverance, when (as a late Author has truly obſerved) you ſaw your ſelves *upon the brink of Ruin, your Rights and Liberties Invaded, your Religion within an Ace of being overturned, your Laws and Conſtitution renverſed, the whole Scheme of your Ancient Government unhinged, and to compleat your Miſery, you ſaw no probable way of Eſcape*; I ſay, if you have any regard to this ſtupendious mercy of Divine Providence, take eſpecial care that you chuſe ſuch as you know have full Zeal and Affection for him, who under God hath been the Glorious Inſtrument of your Deliverance; ſuch, who will *to the utmoſt of their Abilities* be ready *to expreſs their Gratitude to his Majeſty for ſo Great and Generous an Undertaking, which was no leſs neceſſary for the Support of the* Proteſtant *Intereſt in* Europe, *than for the recovering and maintaining the Civil Rights and Liberties of theſe Nations*, ſo notoriouſly invaded and undermined; *and who will unanimouſly declare, that they will ſtand by and aſſiſt their Majeſties with their* Lives and Fortunes *in ſupporting their Alliances abroad, and in defence of the* Proteſtant *Religion, and Laws of the Kingdom*. Laſt Years Tranſactions Vindicated, pag. 3. Lords and Commons Addreſs to the King, 3. Mar. 89.

Such as theſe will bring their own Recommendations with them; they will

come full fraught with Affections for the *Publick Good*, and will not carry on a *Separate Interest* between the King and People, for they know that the Good of One is the Good of Both; so that the King will think Himself safe in *their* Councils, they will be highly honoured in *his* Confidence in them; and *nothing can lay so sure a* Foundation *of a* Good Agreement *between the* King *and his* People *in* Parliament, *as such a* MUTUAL TRUST.

Kings Answer to the Address.

The Constitution of this Kingdom is the most happy that Humane Prudence can invent; the Ancient Government is as Temperate as the Climate we live in; therefore from the sence of the *Miserable Desolations* which have of late been made upon almost every thing we accounted dear and valuable to us, we have all the Motives, and are under all the Obligations that can be, to secure now and advance the Interest of this most Excellent Constitution.

And who can you think more capable of procuring this Happiness to the Nation, than such who have a just and due sence of this Wonderful Deliverance, and a becoming Zeal and Affection for the *only Person under Heaven* that could, and hath, through the Divine Benignity, wrought this Salvation for us?

Vid. The Speaker's Speech, 12. Jan. 1689.

He came by his Power to defend Us from our Enemies, and by his Justice to give Us the Full Enjoyment of our Laws and Liberties, and (which is the Inestimable Blessing of all) by his continual care to maintain the Protestant *Religion to us.*

These will come with *Hearts full charged with Gratitude* to him; with fixed Resolutions to give Him all the Assistances his necessary Engagements may require; and with Consciences faithful to the Interests of those Counties, Cities and Boroughs for which they serve; and strict in the due performance of all their Obligations.

Thus will there be a Blessed Harmony between the Head and the Members: These will with great Wisdom consult how to restore that Happiness which you have been so long deprived of; and *we are assured that the King will concur in every thing that may procure the Peace and Happiness of the Nation, which so* free *and* lawful *a* Parliament *shall determine.*

Prince's Declaration.

Hereby you will be put into so good a Settlement, as will mightily conduce to the Disappointment of our Enemies both abroad and at home. But if any of you should be prevailed with upon any pretence whatsoever, to make choice of other persons, you must not think it strange, if it should be looked upon as a manifest Testimony of your *Disaffection* to their present Majesties.

2*dly*, That you may the more expect the Blessing of God to attend your Choice, see that you pitch upon Men of *Religious Principles*, I mean of the Church of *England* as by Law Established; You need not doubt but those will act well for your Interest, that have the true fear of God, and a due sence of Religion in their Minds; They are the Men that dare not be *Disloyal*, (as the word *truly* signifies) to the King, nor the Government. These are they that will shew most Zeal to maintain the *pure Religion* of the Church of *England*. The *Monarchy* and the *Church* will be secure in them. These having a true sense of the Goodness of Almighty God to themselves in setling such a *happy Constitution* here, as is most agreeable to their *own Consciences*, will not be without a due sense of the *Right* of all Mankind to the *Liberty* of *their Consciences*, and therefore will allow other Men the *same freedom*, whose *Principles* are not *destructive* to the Peace of the Government.

Says a Great and Reverend Prelate that now is, some nine years since, in a Sermon he Preached before the Aldermen of *London*, *Some have thought they*

they could not be esteemed Loyal, *if they appeared* Devout; *and therefore to purchase the one Character, were willing not only to throw off, but openly to reproach the other all they could. What ill effects this hath had, how the Nation has been much corrupted by these Maxims, and God highly offended, is so obvious to every Man's Observation, that I need dwell no longer on it.* Dr. Burnet, 30. Jan. 81. pag. 10.

Set not therefore your Choice on any that are Dissolute and Prophane; you can have no solid ground, to believe that such are like to do you good, let their loud pretences be what they will of being *True* to the *King* and the *Church*, and let them damn as they please all others that are not as Irreligious and Profligate as themselves, for Rogues and Rascalls of *Commonwealth* Principles; 'tis no matter what they bawl, I'm sure they are not to be trusted in this Government.

* *There have been, God knows,* (says a very Eminent Divine of our Church) *too too many* Debauchees *in the Nation, who would be thought Great* Champions *for the* King *and the* Church, *that have done infinite prejudice to both by the mad and Frantick Expressions of their Zeal; who have done mighty Honour to* Fanaticism, *by charging all with it that have not run with them to the same Excess of Riot.* * Dr. Fowler, Serm. before the Judges at Glouc. Assize 7 Aug. 1681. p. 29.

One would think that these, whatsoever they pretended, did really design nothing more than to make both the King *and the* Church *as* Friendless *as they were able.* Ibid.

I wonder in my heart (says he) *what should make any* debauched person *pretend the least Zeal for the* Church of England, *that heretofore would never allow themselves* (*they were such* hot-spurs) *the leisure to think a wise or sedate thought.* Ibid.

But a deep sense of true Religion fixeth men to certain Principles, which any Government or People may safely relye on *The Thrones of Princes are established by Righteousness*, and the *People* will think themselves as *happy* in a *chearful Submission* to their *Government*, as they are in its *Fundamental Constitution and Laws.*

3*ly*. In the next place it is my Opinion, that you should fix your Eyes upon such Men as you verily believe will labour most to unite the Affections of the People, for herein doth the strength of the Government consist, together with Religion, and a well-directed Conscience.

A *Mutual Trust* and *Confidence* is a great strength in time of *Common danger*. When we are distracted in Affections, we shall be distracted in Reason and Council, and when we are so, then is the time for our Enemies to * *have their ends of us.* * Letter to a Bishop, &c. p. 15.

Pick out therefore such Persons to be your Representatives, that are of large and Catholick Principles; that will be *kind to all Men, pitiful, and courteous*, and that will *love their Neighbours as Themselves. This is that which is the most real and substantial, the most large and extensive, the most useful and beneficial, the most humane, and the most divine Quality of which we are capable*; as a very Learned and Reverend Divine hath admirably observed. Dr. Tillotson, Serm. 2. &c. 73. p. 15.

Such will tolerate the Tolerable, bear with the Weak, encourage the Conscientious, and restrain none but those who will do whatsoever they can to restrain all besides themselves.

This would be a Door opened for all *Protestants* to enter into a mutual good understanding one with another, and to concur together in the preserving of their Religion, so that it would not be possible for the *Papists* hereafter to compass any of their wicked Ends against them.

4*thly*. Next to these, let me advise you to make choice of such as be Men

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of *Temper* and *Moderation*. We are all ſure, that the Enemies of Moderation have been the Enemies of our Government and Peace, which is built upon it, and kept together by it.

A Moderation of Elements and Humours makes the beſt Conſtitution of Bodies; Moderation of Paſſions gives the beſt Temper of Soul, keeping the *Mid*ſt between Exceſs and Defect.

Conſider, The Moderate Man ſtands in no Man's way that climbs for Preferment, envies no Man in it, juſtles no Man out of it; he modeſtly refuſeth what others ambitiouſly ſeek, and ſoberly uſeth what others abuſe: Ambition makes him neither Head of a Faction, nor Emulation to follow a Party.

Beſtow your Votes on ſuch as I now perſwade you to; for they are the *moſt likely* to remove all the Unhappy Cauſes of Diſcord and Diviſion from among us, and are the *fitteſt* Men in the World to ſet things *right* that are *amiſs*, and to keep things *right* that are ſo; and by their calm and ſober Councils to ſettle theſe Kingdoms upon the ſure and laſting Foundations of Peace and Happineſs to this and future Generations.

5thly, Chooſe Men of *Plentiful Subſtance* and *Eſtate*; the greater Stake they have in the Hedge of their own, the more careful they will be to preſerve yours: Whereas Indigent Perſons, that poſſibly may be recommended to you by thoſe who are your Secret Enemies, will lye under a Powerful Temptation of Sacrificing You and the Nation, to gain their own private Ends upon both.

But when, I ſay, you ought to chooſe the Rich and the Wealthy, my meaning is not, that any one who is ſo, is a proper Object of your Choice; but, where you can, that you ſhould fix upon Perſons of Credit and Reputation in the places of their Birth, or long Habitation, and where their Fortunes lye: For you muſt needs think that Theſe whom you know, (where they are to be found) will be more tender of the Common good and welfare of their Friends, Relations and Neighbours, than *Strangers* creeping in at the back Doors of vaſt Expence and Purchaſe to gratifie their own Ambition.

Thoſe that ſhew themſelves ſo profuſely liberal in treating your Corporations, you have great reaſon to ſuſpect of having ſome ſiniſter Ends and Deſigns upon you. For is it likely that They who *buy* your Votes ſo dearly, will not endeavour to *ſell* your *Liberties* with intereſt to themſelves?

Such ſort of *Ambitus*, by the *Calpurnian* Law among the *Romans* was puniſhed by heavy Fine on the *Canvaſſer*; beſides that, he was afterwards render'd uncapable of being Elected into a Senator's place. And the ſame Law was alſo after that ratified by the *Senate* in the Conſulſhip of *Tullius* and *Antonius*. And by the *Tullian* Law the Commonaly themſelves offending in that point, were alſo moſt ſeverely puniſhed; beſide that, the *Canvaſſers* were to ſuffer Ten years Exilement.

But if Needy Corporations will ſell their Rights, and ſurrender the Fortreſs of wholſome Liberties to *Philip* of *Macedon*'s laden Mules, they muſt, as *Eſau* did, then blame their own Hunger, after the Amiable Pottage.

6ly, Chooſe Men of *competent years*, theſe will not eaſily be impoſed upon to hurt you; they will conſider all Circumſtances, and weigh every thing impartially, and will throughly underſtand the *project of Bills* before they conſent to have them *Laws*, and will not be over-forward to give up that *Property* and *Liberty*, which your Anceſtors have ſo ſtrongly ſecured to you by wiſe and provident

vident Laws, and purchased with so much *Blood* and *Treasure*. But if you should choose *Raw Saplings*, *Green Heads*, *Unexperienced Children*, the World will judg of you as they once did of the *Grecians*, that you your selves were either always Children, or are now become so. Will you intrust those with your Lives, Liberties, Estates and Religion, whom the Law will not trust to dispose of any thing they have of their own? Will you inable such to give away all the Securities you enjoy as *Englishmen*, whose Bond in the account of the Law will not be taken for Forty shillings? It is in it self an unbecoming thing, that they should have any power of *laying Taxes* upon other Men, who cannot lay themselves under any *Obligations* to their Creditors, by reason of their *Minority*.

In Q. *Eliz.* time (as Sir *Rob. Naunton*, Master of the Court of Wards, observes in his Account of her Times and Favourites,) says he, I do not find that the *House* was at any time weakned and pestered with the Admission of too many Young Heads, as it hath been of later times, which remembers me of Recorder *Martin's* Speech about the Tenth of our late Soveraign Lord King *James*, (*viz.* 1*st.*) when there were Accounts taken of 40. Gentlemen, not above 20. and some not exceeding 16; which moved him to say, that it was the ancient Custom for Old Men to make Laws for Young ones, but that he saw the Case altered, and that there were Children Elected unto the *Great Council* of the Kingdom, which came to invade and invert *Nature*, and to Enact Laws to govern their Fathers.

Sir *Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia*, pag. 13.

Vid. Mr. *Prynn's* Minor, no Senator.

7thly, Chuse such as you are sure will stedfastly adhere to the Ancient and most Excellent Constitution of this Kingdom, who will neither be for turning the Government into a *Common-wealth*, nor for advancing the *Monarchy* (as of late) into a *French* Tyranny: By the One we shall have nothing but Faction and Sedition, Tumults, Licentiousness, and all Confusion; and by the other nothing but Force, a Violation of all Laws, *Dragoons* and *standing mercenary Armies*, and every thing else carried on by Absolute, Despotical, Unbounded Will and Pleasure. But we have sufficiently found already the *mischievous effects* of both these *extreams*, so as I hope we shall never run into the like again; since that would be a Total Subversion of the *Fundamental Laws* and *Laudable Establishments* of this Kingdom, which hath made this Nation so many Years both Famous and Happy, to a great degree of Envy.

8thly, Make it your great Care to Elect such as you know will do all that lies in their power to *redress* your *Grievances*, and to *assert* and *maintain* your *undoubted Rights*; and call to Account those, *who* (as the King hath most admirably express'd it) *have so visibly discovered their Designs of destroying your Religion and Liberties*.

King's Speech 1908. 89.

That these have been manifestly invaded, you all will readily own; that a *High Commission Ecclesiastical* hath been set up contrary to most express Laws; that a Power of *Dispensing* and *Suspending* of Laws, *without Consent of Parliament*, hath been openly declared in *Westminster-Hall*, as a Right belonging to the Crown; that *Seven Reverend Bishops* were committed and prosecuted as heinous *Criminals*, only for offering to the late King an Humble Petition, in terms full of Dutiful Respect, and not exceeding the Number limited by Law; that the *Charters* of most of those Towns that have a Right to be Represented by their Burgesses in Parliament, have been either unwarily *surrendred*, or *seized* on; and (to omit several other things) that *undue Return of Juries* have been made by *illegal Sheriffs*, and a great deal of *Blood* hath been shed in many places of the Kingdom by *Judges* governed by the Direction *from Above*, and not by

Prince's Declarat.

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their own Consciences, against *all the Rules and Forms of Law*, you cannot for shame deny, since the Redemption of You from these intolerable Grievances was the Cause of His present Majesty's *Espousing your Interest, as he was earnestly solicited by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and Subjects of all Ranks*: therefore is it not your Interest to chuse now such Men to represent you in Parliament, as will with a true, brave, and noble *English* Resolution, endeavour to prevent such great and insufferable Oppressions for the future, Establish your just and ancient Rights, so as none may dare to invade them hereafter, and bring to publick Justice some of the greatest, longest, and most Notorious Offenders?

Prince of O. Declaration.

I am not for promoting you to glut your Revenge upon all those *Bold Contemners of our Laws*; but certainly to make a few Victims for the Atonement of so much (I had like to have said) irreparable Mischief as was committed, and so much Innocent Blood as was poured out in the two last Reigns, would be for the Honour of an *English* Parliament, and a great *Justification* both of the King and Kingdom.

I have but one word more to leave with you, and that is concerning your *Elections*, where I pray you to remember, that it is an *Ancient Law and Liberty* of *England*, *that Elections should be* freely *and* indifferently *made, notwithstanding any Prayer or Commandment to the contrary*. 1. Sine prece, *without any Prayer or Gift*; *and* sine præcepto, *without Commandment of the King by Writ, or otherwise, or of any other*. You are *Free-men*, act not as though you were *bound*: Let neither Force, nor Menaces, nor Malice frame you to make Election of Men *unworthy*, or not *Eligible*.

2. Instit. 169. 4. Instit. 10.

Take this Conclusion with you which His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, our now present Sovereign, (whom God Almighty long preserve amongst us) delivered in his Declaration, That *according to the Constitution of the* English Government, *and Immemorial Custom*, all Elections of *Parliament-Men ought to be made with an* Entire Liberty, *without any sort of Force, or the requiring the* Electors *to choose such Persons as shall be named to them*; *and the* Persons *thus* freely Elected, *ought to give their Opinions* freely *upon all* Matters *that are brought before them, having* the Good of the Nation *ever before their Eyes, and following in all things the* Dictates *of their* Conscience.

And thus I wish you happy Success in your Elections, and a Blessed Issue upon the Unanimous Councils of your *REPRESENTATIVES*.

FINIS.

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